

AN  
HISTORICAL  
GEOGRAPHY OF  
IRAN

---

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY  
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
C. E. BOSWORTH

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

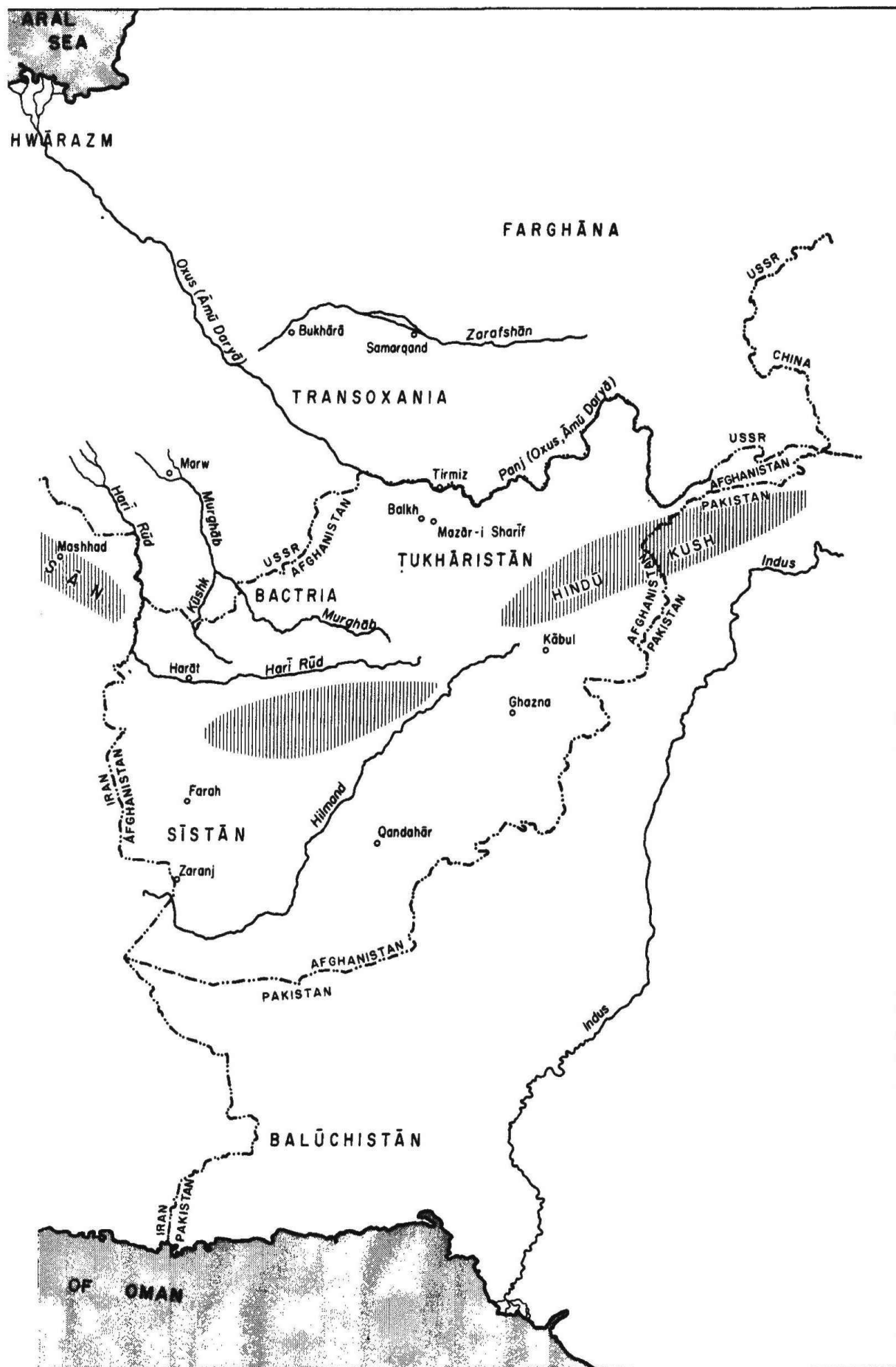
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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
AI	<i>Athār-e Irān</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AMI	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
AN	<i>Akademiia Nauk</i>
ANVA	<i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AOHung	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
AOr	<i>Archív Orientální</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
BSO[A]S	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EI <sup>1</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
EI <sup>2</sup>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
EW	<i>East and West</i>
Farhang	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
GAL	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
GIPh	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
GMS	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HOr	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
IA	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IJMES	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
IQ	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
Iran, JBIPS	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
Isl.	<i>Der Islam</i>
IUTAKÈ	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	<i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i>
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	<i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i>
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,<sup>1</sup> that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

*The Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

<sup>1</sup> "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,<sup>2</sup> and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

<sup>2</sup> My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH  
December 1981

AN  
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IRAN

## INTRODUCTION

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THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.<sup>1</sup> The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.<sup>2</sup> Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

<sup>1</sup> «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

<sup>2</sup> For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.<sup>3</sup> These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,<sup>4</sup> as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."<sup>5</sup> Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

<sup>3</sup> «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

<sup>4</sup> In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18<sup>2</sup>, Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

<sup>5</sup> «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]<sup>6</sup>—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,<sup>7</sup> and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."<sup>8</sup> According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS = Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

<sup>7</sup> «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

<sup>8</sup> *Voyages*, I, 269.

<sup>9</sup> For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.



## CHAPTER IX

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### Fārs

AFTER Kirmān, the Aryans must have occupied Fārs, a region that, as the name suggests, became the focal point of the Persian nation. Here the representatives of the southern branch of the Iranians achieved political unity and created a strong state. Later, when the Persian kings transferred their residence to richer regions, Fārs did not lose its significance for them; this is testified even today by the ruins of the buildings erected here by the Achaemenids and Sāsānids. From Fārs originated not only the founders of the Persian state in the sixth century B.C., but also the dynasty that in the third century A.D. restored the might of Persian nationhood and religion and that successfully put an end to the ambitions of the Roman empire at a moment when the Romans, unaware of the Persian national resurgence, considered final victory over a weakened Parthian state only a matter of time (Strabo, VI, 4). Even in the Muslim period, Fārs retained its importance for Persian national feeling; the language of Fārs, *zabān-i Fārsī*, remained the literary idiom of all Persians.<sup>a</sup>

Strabo, as well as the Arab geographers, divides Fārs into three climatic zones: a cold, a temperate, and a hot one.<sup>1</sup> In the intermediate, most fertile zone converged the characteristic vegetation of both the cold and warm lands. The basin of the large salty lake of Bakhtigān was considered part of the cold zone, together with all the districts to the north of it; even Yazd and its district, geographically more closely linked with Kirmān, were considered a part of Fārs.<sup>2</sup> During their movement from Kirmān into Fārs, the

<sup>a</sup> The exact meaning of the linguistic term *pārsī/fārsī* in early Islamic writers like Ibn al-Muqaffa' is a more complex question than Barthold thought; it seems to include both the literary and priestly MP language and the current spoken Persian of Fārs; see G. Lazard, "Pahlavi, Pārsi, Dari. Les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muqaffa'," *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 360-91.

<sup>1</sup> Analogically, also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, I, 11.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs knew that Yazd had formerly been attributed to Kirmān (*ibid.*, p. 3, with a reference to Ištakhri, p. 101 line 1, where, however, the locality in question is al-Rūdān, which, according to other reports, lay considerably further to the south of Yazd, near Shahr-i Bābak; see *ibid.*, pp. 135, 168).

Aryans occupied first the northern part of the latter, penetrating there, along one of the three roads that, according to the description of the Arab geographers, connected Sirjān with Fārs. One of these roads led to the city of Iṣṭakhr, located near the ruins of ancient Persepolis. The valleys of the rivers Kur and its affluent called Parwāb, Pulwār, or Murghāb remained the center of Fārs until the beginning of the dynasty of the Sāsānids. The valley of the Pulwār is divided into two parts, northern and southern, by the gorge in which the village of Siwand is located; in the northern part are the ruins of Takht-i Mādar-i Sulaymān, in which most scholars see the ruins of Pasargadae, the ancient capital of Persia.<sup>3</sup>

The most noteworthy structure among these ruins is the so-called tomb of Cyrus, which the natives consider to be the "tomb of Solomon's mother," *qabr-i mādar-i Sulaymān*.<sup>4</sup> The traditions about Solomon had obviously been brought there by the Arabs; we know from Iṣṭakhrī that the Persians identified Solomon with their mythical king Jamshīd.<sup>5</sup> Already at that time, people showed "Solomon's mosque" in the vicinity of Iṣṭakhr. The ruins of Persepolis, now

<sup>3</sup> The platform of the citadel of Pasargadae (Takht-i Sulaymān) measured, according to Ménant (*Les Achéménides*, p. 17), 80 x 60 meters; according to Jackson (*Persia Past and Present*, p. 280), 200 x 50 feet; a little further to the south is the Zindān-i Sulaymān, in reality the remnants of a fire temple (*ibid.*, p. 281); still a little further to the south are the remnants of the palace with Cyrus's inscription; to the east of them is Cyrus's bas-relief, to the west, his tomb. A picture of the tomb *ibid.*, pp. 279, 291 (cf. also, with Pérsepolis on p. 311). For Pasargadae, see also Herzfeld, "Pasargadae. Untersuchungen zur persischen Archäologie," *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, VIII (1908), 1-68 (dimensions of the city: 1,250 x 750 meters, *ibid.*, p. 29). (For Pasargadae, see now F. Wachtsmuth, "Achaemenid Architecture. The Principal Monuments," *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 309-20; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 20-23, 147-48; Ghirshman, *Perse. Proto-iranien, Mèdes, Achéménides*; Ali Sami, *Pasargadae* (Shiraz, 1956); 'Alī Sāmī, "Pāsārgād," *Gudhārsh-hā-yi Bāstān-shināsi*, IV (1338/1959), 1-172; *idem*, "Shahr-i kāwish-hā wa khākwardārī-hā wa ta'mīrāt-i Takht-i Jamshīd," *ibid.*, pp. 195-278; Frye, *Heritage*; D. Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae. Preliminary Reports," *Iran, JBIPS*, I-III (1963-1965).) [Idem, *Pasargadae, a Report on the Excavations of the British Institute of Persian Studies* (Oxford, 1978).]

<sup>4</sup> Or *masjid-i mādar-i Sulaymān*, and in Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*; p. 155, it is *gūr-i mādar-i Sulaymān*; today the tomb is arranged as a mosque, with a *mihrāb*, Arabic inscriptions on the righthand side from the entrance, and copies of the Qur'ān. See Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 241-42.

<sup>5</sup> P. 123. Cf. Nöldeke, "Das iranische Nationalepos," p. 140. [See the important study of A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le royaume de Salomon, les inscriptions persanes de sites achéménides, *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, I (1971), 1-41, who notes (pp. 1-20) the inscription of the Salghurid Atābeks of Fārs (see below, p. 156, note b) at Pasargadae, with the characteristic formula in their titulature of *wārth-i mulk-i Sulaymān* "heir to Solomon's kingdom."]

known as Takht-i Jamshīd, were said to have been built for Solomon by the jinns under his command. As for the "tomb of Solomon's mother," not all scholars have accepted that it is that of Cyrus even to this day. This structure resembles in its inner arrangement the tombs of Lycia and Pamphylia; its outward aspect is believed to betray traces of Egyptian and even Greek architecture. It is hard to say how much the present appearance of the structure corresponds to the original one; according to Arrianes, Alexander the Great found the tomb ruined and ordered Aristobulos to restore it. The manner in which Cyrus was buried differed considerably from that of the burial of other Persian kings, and reveals traces of Egyptian influence; this is explained by the fact that Cyrus was married to an Egyptian princess.<sup>6</sup> The Persian and Greek inscriptions on the tomb, which are mentioned by Arrianes and other authors,<sup>7</sup> have not been preserved. Nearby are visible the remnants of Cyrus's palace, now known as the "palace of the *dīws*"; an inscription in three languages, as is customary, was preserved on one wall: "I, king, Cyrus, the Achaemenid." We have here the earliest Persian cuneiform inscription, if indeed it can be ascribed to Cyrus. There was a bas-relief representing a winged genius in imitation of Assyrian statues; because of the above-mentioned inscription some have interpreted it as representing Cyrus; others, such as Justi,<sup>8</sup> objected, saying that such a representation would have been impossible while Cyrus was alive, and that the inscription simply means that Cyrus is the builder of the structure.<sup>9</sup>

Having passed through the gorge of Sīwand, the Pulwār issues from the valley of Hājjiābād into the fertile plain of Marwdasht.<sup>10</sup> According to contemporary travelers,<sup>11</sup> this plain, extending to the

<sup>6</sup> «(See now G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 132-34.)»

<sup>7</sup> «(For the degree of trustworthiness of these reports by Greek authors, see Dandamaev, *Iran*, pp. 36-38.)»

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte des orientalischen Völker*, p. 376. The inscription on the bas-relief has now disappeared. Stolze did not see it again (Herzfeld, "Pasargadae," p. 60).

<sup>9</sup> F. H. Weissbach, "Die altpersischen Inschriften," *GIPh*, II, 61, attributes this inscription to Cyrus the Younger, with a reference to his article "Das Grab des Cyrus und die Inschriften von Murghāb," *ZDMG*, XLVIII (1894), 653 ff. «(The question of whether the Old Persian inscriptions in Pasargadae belong to Cyrus (II), whose name they mention, remains a matter of debate. See the survey of literature on the subject in Dandamaev, *Iran*, pp. 34-40; cf. also Oranskii, "Neskol'ko zamechanii"; Ghirshman, "À propos de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse," *JNES*, XXIV (1966), 244-50.)»

<sup>10</sup> Marw al-Shādhān in Ṭabarī, II, 1978 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 71.

place where the Pulwār flows into the Kur, could even today be perfectly irrigated and cultivated; at present, however, only a small portion is under cultivation. Here is the city founded under Darius; it is known to us only by its Greek name, Persepolis. Various hypotheses have been advanced as to what it was called by the Persians themselves. The palaces of Darius and his successors were built on an elevated terrace on the advanced protrusion of a mountain of gray marble that descends into the valley from the east and almost reaches the banks of the Pulwār.<sup>12</sup> These magnificent ruins have been depicted and described many times. The palaces of Persepolis differ from the structures of Assyrian kings first of all in their columns. These are attributed to Greek architects, whose participation is also mentioned by ancient authors; some other decorations may be ascribed to them, too, but there these masters used Asian motifs.<sup>13</sup> A certain distance to the north of these ruins<sup>14</sup> there are, carved in a rock of white marble, the tombs of the kings of the Achaemenid dynasty, now known by the name of Naqsh-i Rostam.<sup>15</sup>

The town that in the Middle Ages was called Iṣṭakhr lay on both banks of the Pulwār. In the tenth century, it occupied a rather small

<sup>12</sup> The dimensions of the terrace, according to Ménant, *Les Achéménides*: 463 x 286 meters.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Justi, "Geschichte Irans," *GIPh*, II, 449, about Greek artists; remarks of Farmakovskii, *Khudozhestvennyi ideal*, pp. 51 ff.; Herodotus, IV, 88, about Mandrocles.

<sup>14</sup> One hour's journey from the village of Iṣṭakhr. There are four tombs; similar tombs are in Persepolis itself in the rock that dominates the valley. The distance from Iṣṭakhr to Persepolis is five kilometers.

<sup>15</sup> «For the pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid monuments in the district of Persepolis, see now Wachsmuth, "Achaemenid architecture"; Godard, "Les travaux de Persepolis," *Archaeologia Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (New York, 1952), pp. 119-28; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 24-37, 150-53; M. D'iakonov, *Ocherk*, pp. 13, 32-33, 123 ff., 346, 356, 383; Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 2 vols.; Ghirshman, *Perse*; Frye, *Heritage*, pp. 96-97.)» [For the Sāsānid reliefs of Naqsh-i Rostam, depicting Shāpūr I's victory over the Roman Emperor Valerian, see Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 221 ff.; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 86, 89, 94, 96-97, 100. For inscriptions carved at Persepolis in the fourteenth century by the local rulers in Fārs, the Injū'ids and Muẓaffarids, expressing, as with the Pasargadae Islamic inscriptions (see above, note 5), continuity of rule with the Solomonic power, see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le royaume de Salomon, les inscriptions persanes de sites achéménides," *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, I (1971), 20 ff. Some four centuries previously, the Buwayhid amīr 'Aḍud al-Dawla had visited Persepolis, had gotten a local Zoroastrian priest to interpret for him the Pahlavi inscriptions there, and had caused an Arabic inscription to be carved in commemoration of his visit; see Bosworth, "The Heritage of Rulership in Early Islamic Iran and the Search for Dynastic Connections," *Iran, JBIPS*, XI (1973), 57.]

area, about one mile (about two versts) wide, extending primarily on the western side of the river; outside the city walls was the so-called Khurāsān bridge (Qanṭarat Khurāsān), beyond which there were only a few new buildings.<sup>16</sup> The Friday mosque was surrounded by a row of columns. Maqdisī makes the curious remark that on top of each column there was a figure of the head of a cow;<sup>17</sup> the mosque had originally been a temple of fire worshipers.

Iṣṭakhr remained the chief town of Fārs under the Sāsānids. Ardashīr raised his principal structures in the southern part of the province, but he placed the bas-relief representing his victory over Artaban the Parthian, which made him the King of Kings, at Naqsh-e Rostam above the tombs of the Achaemenids.<sup>18</sup>

From this time onward, the towns of the middle and southern zone began to overshadow Iṣṭakhr;<sup>19</sup> in the tenth century there were four towns in Fārs that surpassed Iṣṭakhr in size: Shīrāz, Fasā, Sīrāf, and Arrajān; the former two were considered part of the middle zone, the latter two, of the southern zone.<sup>20</sup> The whole province was divided in Arab times—and probably also in Sāsānid times—into five districts, *kūras*; in Nöldeke's opinion this word goes back, through Syriac, to the Greek word *χώρα*.<sup>21</sup> Its Persian counterpart was most probably the term *shahr*, Old Persian *khshatra*;<sup>22</sup> only in New Persian did the word *shahr* acquire the meaning "town, city." These five districts were Iṣṭakhr, Ardashīr-Khurra, Dārābjird,

<sup>16</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 123. For the word *qanṭara*, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 57 n. 3: the Greek word *κέντρον*, Latin *centrum*. In Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, I, 16, "ein neuer Stadttheil auf der rechten Seite des Flusses"; *ibid.*, pp. 15-16, reference to Maqdisī, p. 444, concerning the *mal'ab Sulaymān*, at a distance of one farsakh from Iṣṭakhr. The same author's statement there that from the *mal'ab* ploughed fields and settlements extend "as far as the eye can see" (at present only a small part is covered by cultivated fields, see Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspuskogo moria*, p. 71).

<sup>17</sup> Maqdisī, 436.

<sup>18</sup> «For the Sāsānid monuments in the district of Iṣṭakhr, see bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*; F. Sarre, "Sasanian stone sculpture," *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 593-600; Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthes et Sasanides*.»

<sup>19</sup> According to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Iṣṭakhr was subjected under Samsām al-Dawla (989-998) to such a destruction on the part of the Amīr Qutlumush that it could be resuscitated only as a village; it has remained a village until now: Ménant, *Les Achéménides*, p. 36. According to the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī, there were in Iṣṭakhr at the beginning of the twelfth century only some one hundred men; see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 276. «(For Iṣṭakhr, see also M. Streck, *EP*, art. "Iṣṭakhr," and M. Streck and G. C. Miles, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Iṣṭakhr.")»

<sup>20</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 128.

<sup>21</sup> Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> «(xšaθra-.)»

Sābūr, and Arrajān. The two largest ones were Iṣṭakhr, which extended northward to Yazd and Nāyin,<sup>23</sup> and Ardashīr-Khurra, which comprised an area from Shīrāz<sup>24</sup> southward to the sea, and even included the islands of the Persian Gulf from Khark<sup>25</sup> to Qishm. East of this district was that of Dārābjird with the towns of Dārābjird, now Dārāb, and Fasā, which has retained this name to the present. The western part of Fārs consisted of the districts of Sābūr (Shāpūr), the smallest one, with the towns of Sābūr and Kāzarūn (both still exist today) and Arrajān with its capital of the same name; the ruins of the latter are near the town of Bihbihān, which is considered part of Khūzistān; in this district was, among others, the harbor of Jannāba, now Janāwa.

The valley in which Shīrāz is located begins behind the pass of Ubarak and the gorge of Allāh Akbar, or Tang-i Qur'ān.<sup>26</sup> Most Arab geographers attribute the foundation of Shīrāz to the Arabs; the town, like Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, developed from a military camp. As in the case of Baghdad, here too a town founded by the Arabs received an Iranian name. In Iṣṭakhri's interpretation, Shīrāz means "lion's belly," *jawf al-asad*; the city was thus named because provisions from all the surrounding areas were brought and consumed here.<sup>27</sup> It is quite possible that there had been a settlement here even before the arrival of the Arabs; according to some legends, its founder, Shīrāz, was the son of Fārs son of Ṭahmūrath. The

<sup>23</sup> The road from Iṣfahān to Nāyin in Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Ṣafar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), p. 249; from Iṣfahan to Nāyin, thirty farsakhs in all.

<sup>24</sup> Note in connection with Shīrāz in Ṭabarī, I, 873: a native of Shīrāz was Sūkhrā, the general of King Firūz.

<sup>25</sup> Sykes, *A History of Persia*, II, 375 ff., about Dutch rule on Khārk in the seventeenth century; Mīr Muḥannā from Bandar-Rīg ousted them from there; under the Dutch, a town with 12,000 inhabitants developed on this previously desolate island; after them all this disappeared.

<sup>26</sup> Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 72. Story in Maqdisī, p. 444, that 'Aḍud al-Dawla built between Shīrāz and Iṣṭakhr a large wall (*ḥā'it*) with a base (*asās*) from lead (*bi 'l-raṣās*); behind this wall flowed a river; 'Aḍud al-Dawla built on it, on both sides, ten wheels for irrigation (*dawālīb*), each of which moved a millstone; a town was built there and a canal built that irrigated 300 settlements. For this town, see *ibid.*, pp. 430-31; the name *Kurd-i fanā-Khusraw*, half a farsakh from Shīrāz (in Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 250: to the south of Shīrāz). After 'Aḍud al-Dawla's death, the town declined. Cf. now the dam Band-i Amīr; mountains of this name delimit from the left the valley in which Shīrāz is situated. The settlement of Zargān is located at the foot of the mountain that forms a continuation of the mountains of Band-i Amīr (see Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 72); according to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 324, the bridge of Band-i Amīr is six miles from Zargān (Sykes calls it Zargūn).

<sup>27</sup> Iṣṭakhri, p. 124.

place rose in importance only in Arab times.<sup>28</sup> The legend about the eponymous hero is of course without foundation; more significant are the sculptural portrayals of the Achaemenids and Sāsānids in the vicinity of the town, as well as the stronghold of Qal'a-yi Bandar or Fāhandar, of Sāsānid origin,<sup>29</sup> on a mountain near the tomb of the poet Sa'dī about one mile to the northeast of the modern town. It seems to be the same citadel that the Arabs called Qal'at Shahrūbadh;<sup>30</sup> this name suggests that it had been built in pre-Islamic times. The Muslims attributed the fortress of Fāhandar to the Sāsānid period; the name is encountered in the fourteenth century. The fortress was destroyed by the Arabs and restored under 'Imād al-Dawla (932-949), and again under Abū Ghānim, son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who for this purpose demolished the palace built by his father. Also destroyed in the Arab period was the monastery, *dayr*, that had been built there under Yazdagird III.<sup>31</sup> In the first half of the tenth century, Shīrāz had as yet no walls,<sup>32</sup> but by the end of that century, Maqdisī mentions eight gates, which suggests the existence of a wall.<sup>33</sup> 'Aḍud al-Dawla built for himself in Shīrāz a splendid palace, and was in general solicitous about the expansion and embellishment of the town, which after him again went into a decline.

The Buwayhid dynasty under 'Aḍud al-Dawla reached the peak of its power. The whole of Persia as far as Sind was under his rule, except for Khurāsān, which belonged to the Sāmānids; in Arabia his authority was recognized not only in 'Umān but even in distant Yemen.<sup>34</sup> He maintained a large army, and he did not let religious

<sup>28</sup> Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 196.

<sup>29</sup> In Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, pp. 133, 166, the name is Pahandiz.

<sup>30</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 116.

<sup>31</sup> See extracts from the *Shīrāz-nāma* in W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East, More Particularly Persia* (London, 1819-1823), II, 473-74. For the *Shīrāz-nāma*, see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1897-1883), I, 294b (Add. 18185); the author is Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Khayr al-mulaqqab bi-Mu'in al-Mushtahir Jadduhu bi-Shaykh Zarkūb al-Shīrāzī. (See also Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 351, 1,294 [Storey-Bregel', II, 1028-29]; Wilber, "Recent Persian Contributions to the Historical Geography of Iran," *Archaeologia Orientalia . . . Herzfeld*, p. 277, no. 34; *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran, 1310/1931).) For Shīrāz, see also Khūrmujī, *Āthār-i Ja'fari, Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz*.

<sup>32</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 125; *ibid.*: the breadth is about one farsakh. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, the wall was built by Šamšām al-Dawla, son of 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

<sup>33</sup> Maqdisī, p. 430.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 449. [For 'Aḍud al-Dawla and his achievements, see H. Bowen, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., and H. Busse, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, 262-89.]

considerations hamper his efforts to keep it content; thus, according to Bīrūnī, he organized prostitution on a broad scale in order to satisfy his soldiers and protect from their excesses the wives of peaceful inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> He strove to embellish his capital Shīrāz, where he built for himself a grandiose palace that comprised, according to Maqdisī, 360 rooms.<sup>36</sup> One large hall was occupied by a library that seems to have rivaled that of the Sāmānids in Bukhārā, described in Avicenna's autobiography.<sup>37</sup> According to Maqdisī, 'Aḍud al-Dawla collected all the books that existed in every branch of learning. The books were kept not in boxes, as in the Bukhārā library,<sup>38</sup> but in special niches. These niches were built along the walls of the hall and resembled little rooms made of wood with separate doors for each. They had, according to the same author, the length of a man's body and the width of three ells.<sup>39</sup> The books were ranged on boards, probably shelves (*wa 'l-dafātir munaḍḍada 'alā rufūf*). In each such niche were books pertaining to a specific branch of learning; in some cases there were several niches for one branch. Maqdisī himself fairly frequently refers to manuscripts that he used in 'Aḍud al-Dawla's library. Despite its Arab origin, Shīrāz did not have an exclusively Arab character; the *gabr*s or Zoroastrians had two temples inside the city and one at its gate; Maqdisī even scolds the inhabitants for their habit of decorating the bazaars on the holidays of the infidels.<sup>40</sup> The town was about one farsakh in width. Ya'qūbī explains its spaciousness by the large number of orchards: each dwelling had an orchard (Shīrāz is still famous for

<sup>35</sup> *India*, tr. Sachau, II, 157.

<sup>36</sup> Maqdisī, p. 449.

<sup>37</sup> Barthold, *Soch.* I, 54.

<sup>38</sup> For the arrangement of conservation of books in boxes and bookcases in Old Russia, see Zarubin, "Ocherki," esp. p. 194.

<sup>39</sup> Concerning this library, there is also a note in Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*; see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 250. [See A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. S. Khuda Bakhsh (Patna, 1937), pp. 172-73; Youssef Eche, *Les bibliothèques arabes publiques et semi-publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Égypte au Moyen-Âge* (Damascus, 1967), pp. 332 ff.; W. Heffening and J. D. Pearson. *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Maktaba." For books, book-makers, booksellers, and libraries of the time see Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura."]

<sup>40</sup> Maqdisī, p. 429. [On the Zoroastrians of Shīrāz and Fārs (where the old faith was still strong in the tenth century), see Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, pp. 191-92. In Maqdisī, pp. 429, 441, we find denunciations of the Zoroastrians of Shīrāz for not wearing distinctive clothing (*ghiyār*), as prescribed for *dhimmi*s, of the general lack of respect shown in the town for the Muslim religious classes (*aṣḥāb al-ṭaylasān*), and of the low moral atmosphere of the town, which permitted the open flaunting of prostitution.]

its parks).<sup>41</sup> The city and its surroundings are watered by two small rivers, the Āb-i Mīrī and Āb-i Ruknī or Ruknābād, and a multitude of springs.<sup>42</sup> From among the buildings mentioned by the Arab geographers, only one exists today: the Friday mosque, according to legend, whose construction is attributed to the Šaffārid 'Amr b. Layth.<sup>43</sup> The building, according to Maqdisī, stood in the midst of bazaars and was embellished by columns resembling those of the mosque of Jerusalem.<sup>44</sup> It is now dilapidated through the effect of time and earthquakes, but in the center of the courtyard stands a small cubelike stone structure with round towers on the corners and a Kūfic inscription dating from the fifteenth century; it represents an imitation of the Ka'ba. The other mosque, called "new" (*masjid-i naw*), is thought to have been built by the atabeks of the thirteenth century, the Salghurids;<sup>b</sup> according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī,<sup>45</sup> its builder was the atabek Sa'd b. Zangī (1195-1226).<sup>46</sup> The brilliance of Shīrāz, which had waned after the Buwayhids, rose again during two local dynasties, that of the Salghurids (1148-1287) and that of the Muẓaffarids (1313-1393). The latter seized control of Shīrāz in 1353. At the end of the fourteenth

<sup>41</sup> *Kutāb al-Buldān*, p. 362.

<sup>42</sup> The name of the lake into which the rivulets flow is Mahalūya in the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī and in the *Nuẓhat al-qulūb* of Mustawfī, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 252; now it is Mahalu; cf. J. n. kan in Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 100, 122.

<sup>43</sup> Curzon, *Persia*, II, 101. For the mosque of 'Amr b. Layth, see also in the *Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz*: "The Atabek Ābish Salghuri [built] a small addition to it, and Sultan Ibrāhīm Mīrẓā b. Mīrẓā Shāhrukh Gürkān repaired it. Naturally, during the period of almost one thousand years that have elapsed since it was built, [the mosque] has been restored repeatedly. At present, although it [still] functions [as a mosque], earthquakes have rendered it ruined and desolate."

<sup>44</sup> Maqdisī, p. 430.

<sup>b</sup> For the Salghurids, see T. W. Haig, *EP*<sup>1</sup>, s.v.; Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 232; Bosworth, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, V, 172-73, cf. also 354; Erdoğan Merçil, *Fars Atabegleri Salghurlular* (Ankara, 1975).

<sup>45</sup> *Nuẓhat al-qulūb*, University ms. no. 171, fol. 222a, [ed. Le Strange, p. 115, tr. *idem*, p. 114].

<sup>46</sup> For the mosque of Sa'd b. Zangī, see also the *Āthār-i Ja'fari*, *Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz* (the mosque was restored under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn Šafawī, then under Šādiq Khān Zand; in 1269/1852-3 it collapsed in an earthquake; Hājji Mīrẓā 'Alī Akbar Qawām al-Mulk Shīrāzī restored the building in the course of five years at his own expense). There is also the *Jāmi'-i Wakīl* (of Karīm Khān-i Zand); it suffered from an earthquake under Ḥusayn 'Alī Mīrẓā, was restored, again in an earthquake; further restored on the order of Naṣīr al-Dīn Shāh. There is also a new mosque, built by Mīrẓā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khān Mushīr al-Mulk. An illustration «(of the contemporary appearance of the mosque of Sa'd)» is in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 325.

century, before Tīmūr's invasion, Shīrāz was one of the greatest cities of Islam. Tīmūr took it for the first time in 1387, and again in 1393; he then founded settlements around his capital, Samarqand, and, in order to express graphically the subordination of the other places to Samarqand, he named these settlements after the largest cities of western Asia: thus alongside a Miṣr, Dimashq, Baghdād, and Sulṭāniyya, there also appeared the settlement of Shīrāz, north of Samarqand.<sup>47</sup> Among those places of pleasure in large centers that used to yield substantial revenues to the treasury and that Tīmūr destroyed, there is mentioned the *bayt al-luṭf* of Shīrāz.<sup>48</sup> Sa'dī lived there under the Salghurids, Ḥāfiẓ under the Muẓaffarids; the tombs of both these poets are located in the vicinity of Shīrāz and still bring glory to the city, although the tomb of Ḥāfiẓ in its present state dates from the eighteenth century and that of Sa'dī from the nineteenth.<sup>49</sup>

After the Muẓaffarids, Shīrāz never again became the capital of a local dynasty, but in Tīmūrid times it continued to be an important commercial center and one of the largest cities of Persia. Only after the unification of Persia under the Ṣafawids did Shīrāz definitively decline to the rank of a provincial town, which it has retained.<sup>50</sup> One exception was the brief interlude in the eighteenth century when Karīm Khān-i Zand (1750-1779), who ruled over all of Persia except Khurāsān, chose it as his capital. Karīm Khān did not assume the title of *shāh*, but even with that of *wakīl* he was a fully independent sovereign. No ruler since Shāh 'Abbās the Great did so much to restore order and security in the country and to increase its prosperity. His special solicitude was devoted to Shīrāz, his capital, which he had again surrounded with a wall, this time from stone,<sup>51</sup> and which he embellished with various structures. To Karīm Khān, according to Curzon, are due all the old buildings of the town that are in any state of good repair.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Ibn 'Arabshāh, *'Ajā'ib al-maqdūr*, ed. S. H. Manger, *Vitae et rerum gestarum Timuri . . . historia* (Leeuwaarden, 1767-1772, II, 856-58). According to Schiltberger, *Putesheshtviia*, p. 51, Christians who wanted to practice commerce were not admitted to Shīrāz.

<sup>48</sup> 'Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ms., fol. 19a.

<sup>49</sup> Pictures of the tombs in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 332, 334 [and of Ḥāfiẓ's in Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, at p. 39].

<sup>50</sup> In the sixteenth century, Shīrāz had twelve gates.

<sup>51</sup> (?) According to C. Niebuhr, *Reize naar Arabië* (Amsterdam, 1779-1781), II, 107 ff., it was from unfired brick.

<sup>52</sup> Curzon, *Persia*, II, 102. According to the *Āthār-i Ja'farī*, *Ta'rīkh-i Shīrāz*, Āghā Muḥammad was rebuilding the fortress (with unfired bricks); in 1239/1823-4 it was

Shīrāz today cannot match, in the beauty of its buildings,<sup>53</sup> the northern capitals Tehran and Iṣfahān, but it does continue to be one of the cultural centers of Persia; on the coins from the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth, that is, prior to the centralization of the mint in Tehran, the name of Shīrāz is accompanied by the epithet *Dār al-ʿilm*. The inhabitants of Fārs, according to Curzon, take pride in the purity of their origin, the correctness of their language, and the sharpness and wit of their conversation; the warm climate of Shīrāz makes possible an animated street life. In the commercial sphere, Shīrāz appears to be the marketplace of the entire province of Fārs; some local merchants, according to Tumanskii, entertain direct relations with the merchants of Manchester.<sup>54</sup> The primary imports are Indian goods. The principal article of export is the locally grown opium; another, although in small quantity, is local tobacco. As for the size of the city's population, estimates range from 32,000 to 60,000.<sup>55</sup>

Until the Islamic conquest, the chief town of the district of Ardashīr-Khurra was a town of the same name; the Arabs called it Jūr (according to Nöldeke, the local pronunciation was Gūr),<sup>56</sup> a name that was eventually replaced by that of Fīrūzābād (see below). The city, built by Ardashīr, did not in the tenth century surpass Iṣṭakhr in size, and was smaller than other principal cities of the province of Fārs. It seems to have conserved especially well the traits of Sāsānid architecture, and consisted only of the *shahristān* with four gates at the four points of compass, without a *rabad*. In

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again damaged by earthquake; then Mīrzā Ḥusayn 'Alī began to restore it; in 1269/1852-3, as a result of a fresh earthquake, the fortress was completely ruined.

<sup>53</sup> Pictures in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 323-34.

<sup>54</sup> *Ot Kaspuskogo moria*, p. 74.

<sup>55</sup> According to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 322, there were fewer than 50,000 inhabitants. (For Shīrāz, its history and monuments, see also *Survey of Persian Art*, II, V; Arberry, *Shiraz. Persian City of Saints and Poets*; Aziz Hatami, *Shiraz* (Tehran, 1961); Mu'in al-Dīn Junayd Shīrāzī, *Shadd al-izār fī khaṭṭ al-awzār 'an zuwwār al-mazār* (Tehran, 1338/1949); Bahman Karīmī, *Rāhnāmā-yi āthār-i ta'rikhī-yi Shīrāz* (Tehran, 1327/1948); Ḥasan Imdād, *Shīrāz, dar gudhashta va-hāl* (Shiraz, 1339/1960); for the historical geography of Fārs see also Ḥasan Fasā'ī Shīrāzī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāsirī*; Muḥammad Nāṣir Furṣat, *Āthār-i 'Ajam* (Bombay, 1314/1896); Le Strange, "Description of Persia and Mesopotamia in the Year 1340 A.D. from the Nuzhat al-Kulūb," *JRAS* (1902); Karīmī, *Jughrāfiyā-yi ta'rikhī-yi muṣaṣṣal-i gharb-i Īrān* (Tehran, 1317/1938); Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*.) [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 42-50. The population in ca. 1950 was 129,023 (*Farhang*, VII, 148); in 1976, it was 416,408 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

<sup>56</sup> Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 11. Cf. also Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, p. 146.

the center of the town rose a terrace called by the Arabs *al-ṭirbāl* (a tower or prominent building), by the Persians the *aywān* or *ki-yākhurra*. From its top there was a view over the whole city and its surroundings, and at the summit of this elevation stood a fire temple. Opposite the terrace, a stream was conducted from a mountain; its water fell on the terrace like a waterfall and flowed down from there in another direction. This whole structure was built from stone, which was later used by the inhabitants of the town, so that already in Iṣṭakhrī's time only insignificant remnants of it were still standing.<sup>57</sup> Two terraces of Sāsānid construction, named *ātashgāh*, still exist; on one of them is a tower some ninety feet high. By the gate of the town, on the bank of a pond, was a fire temple called *Bārīn*; it had a Pahlavi inscription saying that 30,000 dirhams had been expended on building it.<sup>58</sup> For a distance of one farsakh from each gate, there extended orchards and palaces. To the east of the town on a mountaintop there has been preserved a palace of Sāsānid architecture with a domelike roof; in Justi's opinion,<sup>59</sup> this palace had already been built in the fifth century A.D. on the site of an earlier one built by Ardashīr.<sup>60</sup> An article exported from Jūr was—just as it is today from modern Fīrūzābād—rose water, which was considered the best in the world.<sup>c</sup> According to Maqdisī, the town was named Fīrūzābād by the Buwayhid 'Aḍud al-Dawla in the tenth century. After the arrival of 'Aḍud al-Dawla in Jūr or Gūr (Persian pronunciation), the inhabitants said *malik ba-gūr raft* <<"the king has gone into a tomb">>; 'Aḍud al-Dawla considered this a bad omen and gave the town a new, more resonant name (that of Fīrūzābād, "abode of prosperity").<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 124.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>59</sup> *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker*, p. 457.

<sup>60</sup> <<For the palace in Fīrūzābād, see O. Reuther, K. Kimball and L. C. Watelin, "Sasanian architecture," *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 493-592; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 47-51, 156.>> [Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 251-53; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 73, 83-86, 88-89.]

<sup>c</sup> For encomia of Jūrī rose water, see Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, Eng. tr. Bosworth, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information* (Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 127-28; according to Maqdisī, p. 443, Fārs as a whole had a reputation for the production of perfumes and aromatic substances.

<sup>61</sup> Maqdisī, p. 432. Sarwistān and its pre-Islamic monuments. For Gūr and Sarwistān, see Justi, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 516 (opinion about the minaret in Sāmarrā; cf. also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 525; IV, 658, regarding Manjashāniyya one mile from Baṣra on the road to Mecca, at one time the border between the Persians and the Arabs). Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 256, about Fīrūzābād; the river Burāza or Barāra.

A road passed from Shīrāz through Jūr or Fīrūzābād to the port of Sīrāf, today an insignificant village.<sup>62</sup> In the tenth century, all the goods from India destined for Fārs were brought there: aloe wood, ebony, sandalwood, amber, camphor, precious stones, and so on; in size the town was the third in Fārs, but in terms of the opulence of its citizens it occupied the first place. The price of an individual house sometimes surpassed, according to Maqdisī, 100,000 dirhams;<sup>63</sup> enormous amounts of capital became concentrated in the hands of some merchants as a result of trade with India, and according to Iṣṭakhrī, the sums sometimes reached 60,000,000 dirhams.<sup>64</sup> The wealthy man Rāmisht, who lived in the twelfth century, was considered the richest merchant of his time. According to the continuator of Ibn Ḥawqal, Rāmisht's secretary brought back from China, where he had lived for twenty years, goods worth some 500,000 dinars.<sup>65</sup> From this we can make a judgment about the value brought by Rāmisht himself. The latter financed a substitution of the silver ablution basin in the Ka'ba with a gold one, and

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«For the Sāsānid monuments of Sarwistān, see, O. Reuther, F. Kimball, and L. C. Watelin, "Sasanian Architecture," in *Survey of Persian Art*, I, 493-592; Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 47, 156.»

<sup>62</sup> From Shīrāz to Sīrāf, according to Iṣṭakhrī, the distance was sixty farsakhs, from Shīrāz to Jannāba, forty-four. [Concerning this route, see Aubin, "La survie de Shilau et la route du Khunj-ō-Fāl," *Iran, JBIPS*, VII (1969), 21-37, showing further that Sīrāf (Shilau is the later, dialectical form of the name) by no means lapsed into total ruin after the eleventh century, but had a modest revival of prosperity from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, after the ruin of the island of Qays.]

<sup>63</sup> Maqdisī, p. 426. *Ibid.* about the decline of Sīrāf and flourishing of Ṣuḥār in the tenth century (cf. *ibid.*, p. 92); *dihlīz al-Šīn*; according to Maqdisī, there was an earthquake in 366 or 367 (A.D. 976-978). For Sīrāf as the chief port of the Buwayhid period, see also the *Āthār-i Ja'fari, Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz*. Incorrect opinion of Welsted, *Reisen*, I, 219, that 'Umān never had any commercial importance compared to Masqaṭ, Ṣuḥār, and Qalhāt. [The site of Sīrāf has since 1966 been exhaustively examined and excavated by a team of British archaeologists under the auspices of the British Institute of Persian Studies; for interim reports, see D. Whitehouse, in *Iran, JBIPS*, VI (1968), 1-22; VII (1969), 39-62; VIII (1970), 1-18; IX (1971), 1-17, X (1972), 63-87; XI (1973), 1-30. A full account is in course of publication. See also Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 246-49.]

<sup>64</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, 154. [Cf. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān* (Paris, 1922); Krachkovskii, *Arabshkaya geograficheskaya literatura*, pp. 141 ff.]

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 198. [For additions to Ibn Ḥawqal's work, introduced by the editor of the Hispano-Arabic version in 1139-1184, see BGA, II, V; Krachkovskii, *Arabshkaya geograficheskaya literatura*, p. 204.] [Cf. A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du II<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1967), I, 299-309.]

he donated on behalf of the temple a *kiswa* made from costly Chinese fabrics.<sup>66</sup>

To the east of Shīrāz on the highway through Fārs to Hurmuz and the southern portion of Kirmān lay the district of Dārābjird, belonging by climate to the same middle zone; here too converged the cultivation of the products of cold and warm lands. The chief town of the district, Fasā, was second in Fārs in terms of size,<sup>67</sup> but the modern town has no remnants left from antiquity. No longer remarkable are the two towns, or more exactly villages, of Dārābjird, whose creation tradition ascribes to Darius I, and Furg or Furj, Arabic Burj, both also situated on the main road from Fārs to Kirmān. In the tenth century, there were fortified towns of commerce and industry here, and the main market was in Fasā. Near Dārābjird was mined, just as today, the mineral *mūmiyā* [or mummy] a kind of bitumen used as medicine for wounds and fractures; *mūmiyā* was exported to all countries, and its mining was then, as now, a government monopoly.<sup>68</sup> The same substance was used in antiquity for embalming corpses, hence the term for Egyptian mummies. A border town of Fārs was Ṭārum, now Ṭārun; the road from there to Hurmuz led, most probably, through the mountain gorge Tang-i Zag, famous, according to Tumanskii, throughout the whole south of Persia.<sup>69</sup> Subsequently the district of Dārābjird bore the name Shabānkāra and was ruled by a dynasty of local provenience, the Faḍlawayhids.<sup>70</sup> According to tradition, this dynasty's claims to legitimacy go back to pre-Islamic times, but more detailed data about its members who, like other local rulers, bore the Turkish title *atabek*, pertain only to the Mongol period.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The author met Rāmishī in Aden in 539/1144-5. Cf. K. Inostrantsev, "Pere-selenie Parsov," p. 137 n. 2; the date 532/1138, the price of the covering was 18,000 dīnārs. In the thirteenth century, Sīrāf, according to Yāqūt, was ruined, cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 259; *ibid.*, for the destruction of Sīrāf by Rukn al-Dawla Khumārtigin, amīr of the island of Qays, according to the *Fārs-nāma*. (See also S. M. Stern, "Rāmishī of Sīrāf, a Merchant Millionaire of the Twelfth Century," *JRAS* (1967), pp. 10-14.)

<sup>67</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 128.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155. [Dārābjird was an important town in Sāsānid times, and nearby is a celebrated Sāsānid rock relief depicting Shāpūr I, according to the traditional view, but Ardashīr I in the view of Georgina Herrmann; see her "The Dārābgird Relief—Ardashīr or Shāhpūr?" *Iran, JBIPS*, VII (1969), 63-88.]

<sup>69</sup> *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 96.

<sup>70</sup> For the decline of Dārābjird in the twelfth century, according to the *Fārs-nāma*, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 289.

<sup>71</sup> S. Lane-Poole [The *Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 172-73], Russian tr. Barthold,

The capital of the Faḍlawayhids, the fortress Īg (near the town of Zarkān), lay to the northwest of Dārābjird.<sup>72</sup> In the middle of the fourteenth century, this dynasty was overthrown by the Muẓaffarids. The Arab geographers give almost no information about the present district of Lāristān with the chief city of Lār and the important harbor of Linga.<sup>73</sup>

To the west of Shīrāz lay the district of Sābūr, the smallest [district of Fārs] in size: its chief towns were Nawbanjān and Kāzarūn. The name of the district stems from that of its former capital, the city of Shāpūr or, as Maqdisī calls it, Shahrīstān.<sup>74</sup> As the name suggests, Shāpūr was founded under the Sāsānids; in the tenth century it had already lost its former importance because of the rise of Kāzarūn. Not far from the ruins of the city one can still see in the mountains several bas-reliefs, one of which represents the victory of Shāpūr I (249-272) over the Roman emperor Valerian; there is on the same site a statue of Shāpūr I, the only extant statue from the Sāsānid period.<sup>75</sup> The road from Shīrāz to Kāzarūn, described

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*Musul'manske dinastii* (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 298. (See also Ṣāhib, *Daftar-i dīlkushā*, ed. R. Khadi-zade (Moscow, 1965).) [Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, p. 233; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, pp. 146-47; *idem*, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Faḍlawayh"; Cahen, "Faḍluwayh le Shāvankāreh," *Studia Iranica*, VII (1978), 111-15. The unpublished general history of Persia, the *Majma' al-ansāb fi 'l-tawārīkh* of Muḥammad b. 'Alī Shabānkārā'i (d. 1358), is also in large part a special history of Fārs and of the Shabānkārā'i Kurds; see Storey, *Persian Literature*, 84-85, and Storey-Bregel', I, 334-37.]

<sup>72</sup> Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. no. 171, fols. 230a, 245b [ed. Le Strange, pp. 138, 187, tr. *idem*, pp. 137, 178]. In the *Ta'rikh-i Shīrāz*, Īk or Īj; much more correct is the form Īg in Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 289. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 415, for the fruits and their export to the island of Kīsh.

<sup>73</sup> The conquest of Lāristān under Shāh 'Abbās in 1601; succession of rulers since Kiyānid times (Iskandar Munshī, ms., fol. 119a) [ed. Tehran, II, 616-18, tr. Savory, II, 805-808]. According to Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 291, Lār is for the first time mentioned in the fourteenth century by Mustawfī. (For Lāristān, see Romaskevich, "Lār i ego dialekty" (with detailed bibliography); Aḥmad Iqūdārī, *Lārustān-i kuhan (taḥqīq dar bāra-ye Lāristān-i qadīm)* (Tehran, 1334/1955); J. Aubin, "Les sunnites du Lārestān et la chute des Ṣafavides," *REI*, XXXIII (1965), 151-71.) [Much more, however, is known about Lāristān in post-Mongol times; see J. Calmard, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Lār, Lāristān," and for the island of Linga, Bosworth, s.v.]

<sup>74</sup> Maqdisī, p. 432.

<sup>75</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 150, regarding a mountain in the confines of Sābūr with portraits of Persian kings, *marzbāns* and priests (Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, II, 42). There is an error on the map (Shāpūr is to the northwest of Kāzarūn, not to the northeast). (For the Sāsānid monuments in the area of Shāpūr, see the bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 54-57, 158-59, 242; Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthes et Sassanides*; *idem*, *Les mosaïques sassanides* (Paris, 1956).) [Shāpūr is more generally known today as Bīshāpūr; see also for its pre-Islamic monuments, Matheson, *Persia*,

by the Arabs,<sup>76</sup> coincided with the first part of the modern highway from Shīrāz to Būshahr.<sup>77</sup>

In Kāzarūn<sup>78</sup> and the modest town Tawwāj or Tawwāz, halfway between Kāzarūn and the harbor of Jannāba,<sup>79</sup> were woven the linen fabrics called *tawwājī* or *tawwāzī*, famous throughout the Islamic world. By Mustawfī's time (fourteenth century), Tawwāj already lay in ruins.<sup>80</sup> No less famous were the textiles of the town Sīnīj or Sīnīz, situated not far from the estuary of the Ṭāb on the border of Fārs and Khūzistān; the term *sīnīzī* was also borne by textiles woven in Samarqand, which shows that the crafts of Fārs influenced those of Māwarānnahr. In turn, the textile industry of Fārs developed, it would seem, under the influence of that of Egypt; flax for *sīnīzī* was first imported from that country, but later it came to be grown locally. One of the fabrics produced locally was called *dabīqī*, after the Egyptian town of Dabīq.<sup>81</sup>

Būshir, more exactly Būshahr, now the main port on the Persian Gulf, gained this prominence only in the eighteenth century under Nādir Shāh. The site was already inhabited, judging by archaeological finds, in pre-Islamic times. Among the finds are even inscriptions made by the inhabitants of Susiana, some dating from

*an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 236-40; Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, pp. 15-16, 23, 90, 92-94, 101-105.]

<sup>76</sup> Mention in Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* [ed. Le Strange, pp. 185-86, tr. *idem*, p. 176], of the road to Qays through Kārzīn; the latter lay, according to Iṣṭakhri, p. 120, on the same rivulet as Kuwār. Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 974; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 257, 296. According to Iṣṭakhri, p. 134, ten farsakhs from Fasā was Jahrum, eighteen farsakhs from it was Kārzīn.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 296. On the border of Shāpūr and Ardashīr-Khurra was Dasht-i Bārīn and constructions of Mihr-Narse; see Ṭabari, tr. Nöldeke, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>78</sup> «For the history of Kāzarūn, see also [the life of] Abū Iṣḥāq Kāzarūnī [Maḥmūd b. 'Uthmān, *Firdaws al-murshudyā fi asrār al-ṣamadyā*], ed. F. Meier (Leipzig, 1948).» [This work shows the continued strength of Zoroastrianism in Kāzarūn in the late tenth century, that is, under the Būyids; the governor of the town was a Zoroastrian; cf. Frye, "The New Persian Renaissance in Western Iran," *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Leiden, 1965), p. 227.]

<sup>79</sup> Tawwāj, according to Iṣṭakhri, p. 120, is on the rivulet Ratīn, which flows into the Nahr Sābūr, then leaves it, passes by Tawwāj, and flows into the sea. For Tawwāj, see also Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 259 ff.: "its site has never been identified"; even at the beginning of the twelfth century, its greater part lay in ruins; by the fourteenth century, there was nothing but ruins.

<sup>80</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. no. 171, fol. 222b [ed. Le Strange, p. 116, tr. *idem*, p. 115].

<sup>81</sup> Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 236, *Soch.* I, 296. [R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles, Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut, 1972), pp. 48-59.]

the eighth century B.C.<sup>82</sup> In the tenth century A.D., however, there was no harbor here that could compare with that of Jannāba, let alone Sīrāf or Hurmuz. The locality was known by the name of Sif, "sea-coast." In the fourteenth century, Mustawfi distinguishes between Sif Abī Rashīr<sup>d</sup> and Sif 'Umāra; here, as in other coastal areas, Arabs constituted the main element of the population.<sup>83</sup> In the sixteenth century the Portuguese fortification of Reshir was situated here. Some ten versts to the north of this fortress was the harbor chosen by Nādir Shāh for the construction of a fleet in the Persian Gulf.<sup>84</sup> The conditions for lying at anchor and especially for unloading are most unfavorable here. The harbor is not sheltered from winds, and in bad weather it is inaccessible; also, because of shallowness it is necessary to unload freight into local barges. Nonetheless, a considerable volume of trade with China, India, and Europe converges on Būshahr, which is linked with the center of the state by relatively adequate roads; this trade is almost exclusively in the hands of the British.<sup>85</sup>

The coastal belt, with the town of Jannāba, was usually considered a part of the district of Arrajān, although the Arab geographers do not exactly define the boundaries of the respective districts, and we find conflicting reports in their works as to the connection of the individual towns with this or that district. The town of Arrajān itself is usually identified with the ruins near the town of Bihbihān.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>82</sup> «For the monuments in the district of Bushīr (ancient Liyān), see bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 165-74.»

<sup>d</sup> Correctly, Sif Abi Zuhayr, as in Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 256-58.

<sup>83</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. 171, fol. 222b [ed. Le Strange, p. 116, tr. *idem*, pp. 114-15].

<sup>84</sup> For Rīshahr and Būshahr, see *Āthār-i Ja'fārī, Ta'rīkh-i Shīrāz* (the former was supposedly founded by Luhrāsp and embellished by the constructions of the Sāsānid Ardashīr; Būshīr under Nādir Shāh, under Nāṣir al-Dīn Qājār; military clashes with the British). For Būshīr and the residence of the British agent in Sabzābād, seven miles to the south of Būshīr on the highest point of the island, for Sif (?Shīf) to the north of Būshīr, see Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 313. «For Rīshahr and Rēshīr, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 378 and note 1.» [Lockhart, *ET*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Būshahr (Būshīr)."] In 1976, the population of Būshahr was 57,681 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

<sup>85</sup> Rittikh, *Oчерк Персии*, pp. 190-91. [It is now a base for the Iranian navy, though subordinate to Bandar 'Abbās in the Strait of Hurmuz.]

<sup>86</sup> Arrajān as the place of residence of the governor of Fārs and Kirmān is mentioned by Balādhuri, p. 392. According to Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 268, Bihbihān replaced Arrajān and became the chief town of the district after the end of the twelfth century. For Arrajān, see also Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* (Tehran lithog.), pp. 244-45, "twenty thousand men"; the same number in Jerusalem (Mednikov, *Palestina*, II/2, 854), in Tinnīs (in Egypt) 50,000 (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma* Teh-

In the tenth century, it lay somewhat further to the south, by the river Ṭāb, more specifically near that part of its course which is today called Khayrābād;<sup>87</sup> a magnificent bridge was built here with the money donated by one of the wealthy people of Fārs, and it was considered to be the boundary between Fārs and Khūzistān.<sup>88</sup> The foundation of Arrajān was ascribed to the Sāsānid king Qawādīh who had ruled at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. In the tenth century, Arrajān was one of the large towns of Fārs but, it would seem, its importance was less industrial than commercial; this was determined by the fertility of its environs, proximity of the sea, and position of the city on the main road from Fārs to Khūzistān and from there to Mesopotamia. The road from Shīrāz to Arrajān led northwestward through the village of Guyūm or Juwaym. Its further direction is not quite clear, because the names of the villages mentioned in the Arabic itinerary no longer exist; the town of Nawbanjān lay on this road, but that of Shāpūr was situated to one side of it.<sup>89</sup>

Alongside the towns of commerce and industry that gained importance in the Islamic period, there were still in the tenth century remnants of earlier feudal systems exemplified by mountain castles that numbered, according to the testimony of the Arab geographers, some 5,000; among these were even such as had never been taken by assault.<sup>90</sup> Some of these castles were in the hands of the fire worshipers, of whom there were still many in the tenth century. They had their temples in almost every town and in each group of villages,<sup>91</sup> and their number exceeded that of the Christians and Jews.<sup>92</sup> According to Mustawfī, the ruin of towns based on commerce and crafts was caused by the inhabitants of these castles. As for the city of Arrajān, it was said to have been destroyed by the Ismā'īlīs or Assassins.<sup>93</sup>

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ran lithog., p. 97); in Nishāpūr barely one-fifth of the number that was in Miṣr (*ibid.*, p. 143); in Jidda 5,000 (*ibid.*, p. 174); in Laḥsā the Carmathians had over 20,000 soldiers (*ibid.*, p. 220); environs of Arrajān.

<sup>87</sup> For the river Ṭāb in the Middle Ages, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 270.

<sup>88</sup> Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 191.

<sup>89</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 133. [For the historical geography and archaeology of the region, see H. Gaube, *Die Südpersische Provinz Arrāḡān/Kūh-Gilūyeh von der arabischen Eroberung bis zur Safawidenzeit* (Vienna, 1973).]

<sup>90</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, p. 116.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>92</sup> Maqdisī, p. 439. *Ibid.*, for the Shī'īs of the coastal zone and for the Ṣūfīs.

<sup>93</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, University ms. no. 171, fol. 227 [ed. Le Strange, p. 130, tr. *idem*, p. 129].

Beside the sedentary population of Fārs, there have always lived there, in the past as today, many nomads. The western edge of the Iranian plateau is formed by the same kind of parallel mountain chains with scant vegetation that we saw along its northeastern edge; the mountain chains are separated from each other by valleys and plateaus, sometimes fertile and well watered, but more often, because of their considerable altitude, suited only for pasture land. At present the nomadic peoples of Fārs and Khūzistān have various names; in their physiognomy those nomads who speak Iranian dialects differ quite sharply from the Fārsīs, and probably represent a mixture of former inhabitants with Aryan conquerors. Apart from the Iranian-speaking nomads, many groups of peoples of Turkish and Arabic origin live as nomads in the same areas.<sup>94</sup> The geographers of the tenth century subsume all the Iranian nomads under the name of Kurd, after that of the largest group. Similarly, corresponding to the five districts of the sedentary population, five districts of nomads were distinguished in Fārs, but the boundaries of the two types of district did not coincide. The areas of movement of each nomadic group had to cover a fairly extensive territory, because almost all the nomads spent the summers in the mountains and the winters near the seacoast. The term *zumm* (pl. *zumūm*) is used for a nomadic district; de Goeje derives this term from the Kurdish word *zume*.<sup>95</sup> Up to 500,000 households of nomads were accounted in Fārs; at the head of each *zumm* was a special chieftain charged with collecting taxes and insuring the security of roads.<sup>96</sup>

The Kurdish term *zumm* has now been replaced by its Turkish counterpart, *il*. The Persian government today pursues the same policy toward the nomads as it has in the past. According to Curzon, it has learned from experience that the only way to hold the nomads in any degree of submission is to let them keep their own chieftains: the appearance of Persian tax collectors among the nomads brought no benefit to the treasury and caused disturbances among the population.<sup>97</sup> At present, the Iranian nomads are counted separately

<sup>94</sup> «For the nomads of southwestern Iran, see now *Narody Perednei Azii*, pp. 276-82, 558; Ivanov, *Plemena Farsa*; Bahmanbīgī, 'Urf u 'ādāt dar 'ashā' ir-i Fārs (Tehran, 1324/1945); C. G. Feilberg, *Les Papis, tribu persane de nomades montagnards du Sud-Ouest de l'Iran* (Copenhagen, 1952); V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sédentarisation des nomades* (Paris and The Hague, 1956); F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia, the Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy* (Oslo and New York, 1961), and the bibliographies in these works.) [For general surveys, see A.K.S. Lambton, *EP*, art. "Īlāt"; B. D. Clark, in *The Persian Gulf States*, ed. Cottrell *et al.*, pp. 503-506.]

<sup>95</sup> Ibn Khurradādhbih, tr. p. 33 (notes by de Goeje).

<sup>96</sup> Iṣṭakhrī, pp. 113-15.

<sup>97</sup> *Persia*, I, 436; II, 271.

from the tribes of Turkish<sup>98</sup> and Arabic origin; the latter two are combined in an artificial group, the Īlāt-i Khamsa, similar to the five *zumms* of the tenth century. Officially only 60,000 tents of nomads are counted in Fārs at present, but, in Tumanskii's opinion, this figure is below the actual one.<sup>99</sup> Even today the nomads spend the summers on high plateaus, whereas for the winter they descend partly to the terraces of the warm slopes turned toward the Persian Gulf (*garmsīrāt*), partly to the lowland of Arabistān—in other words, to the southern part of Khūzistān. The Persian terms *garmsīr* and *sardsīr*, used by these nomads, roughly correspond to the Turkish terms *qışlaq* and *yaylaq*.

We have seen the district of Yazd also pertained to Fārs. The road from Shīrāz to Yazd led then, as now, through Iṣṭakhr, Dihbid, and Abarqūh. The town of Yazd also had the name Kuththa.<sup>100</sup> As in Kirmān, in Yazd and Abarqūh too the predominant type of building was one made from clay with a domelike roof; wood was not used because of the lack of forests. Yazd was celebrated for the fertility of its surroundings, and it was always one of the most important stations in long-distance trade. Except for the period of the Atabeks of Yazd, who ruled there from the middle of the eleventh century to the end of the thirteenth,<sup>101</sup> the city had no political importance; its commercial importance, however, has been maintained to this day. According to certain censuses, its inhabitants number up to 80,000 souls;<sup>102</sup> the number of commercial and industrial buildings, especially the spinning and weaving workshops, is also very high. In Yazd, the Zoroastrian religion still has a con-

<sup>98</sup> The Turks, especially the Qashqā'i: see Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 77; article of Romaskevich, "Pesni Kashkaitsev"; their winter quarters in the southern and southwestern districts of Fārs, summer quarters in the area of Iṣfahān. [See also F. Sümer, *EP*<sup>2</sup>, art. "Kashkāy"; P. Oberling, *The Qashqā'i Nomads of Fars* (The Hague, 1974).]

<sup>99</sup> *Ot Kaspiiskogo moria*, p. 75.

<sup>100</sup> Illustrations in Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 420; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 345 ff., 374 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Lane-Poole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 172-73 tr. Barthold, *Musul'manskie dinastii*, pl. 298. [See Zambaur, *Manuel*, p. 231, for the Atābeks of the thirteenth century, and for the preceding governors of Yazd and Abarqūh under the Saljuqs, the Kākūyids displaced from Iṣfahān and Hamadān, see Bosworth, "Dailamīs in Central Iran: the Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd," *Iran, JBIPS*, VIII (1970), 84-95.]

<sup>102</sup> The entire population of Yazd, according to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 350, was 30,000 to 40,000, or, together with the villages, 60,000. According to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, it is 60,000. [The population of the town itself in ca. 1950 was 24,959 (*Farhang*, X, 213). In 1976, it was 135,978 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

siderable number of followers;<sup>103</sup> the Muslim population, according to Khanikoff, is noted for its fanaticism.<sup>104</sup> According to other reports, the population is relatively tolerant and moderate, perhaps as a result of its proximity to the *gabr*s; the explosion of fanaticism, whose victims in 1891 became the Bābīs, was deliberately provoked by the government.<sup>105</sup> The present town is surrounded by ruins; from among the existing buildings the most ancient—the so-called Mosque of Amīr Chaqmaq—was built, as an inscription on one of its walls shows, in 699/1299-1300 by the amīr Sunqur.<sup>106</sup> There is a plan of Yazd in Khanikoff's book.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>103</sup> According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 354, 425, there were 8,000 *gabr*s in Yazd, and 11,000 in all of Persia; according to Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 423, there are 7,000 *gabr*s in Yazd, of whom only 1,000 "live in the actual city." For their rituals, Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 366: "Upon reaching the temple I found it to be a simple unpretentious building. . . . Mohammedanism allows no rivals to its beautiful mosques with turquoise domes, arabesques, arches, and slender tessellated minarets." [E. G. Browne, during his stay in Iran 1887-1888, had much contact with the Zoroastrian and Bahā'ī communities of Yazd, and records of the former that "though less liable to molestation now than in former times, they often meet with ill-treatment and insult at the hands of the Muhammadans, by whom they are regarded as pagans, not equal even to Christians, Jews, and other 'people of the book,'" and mentions some of the violence and persecution that they had to suffer (*A Year amongst the Persians*, 2nd ed., pp. 404-56). The surviving Zoroastrian communities of the Yazd region, now shrinking under relentless pressures from the surrounding Muslim environment, have been recently studied at firsthand by Mary Boyce; see her "The Zoroastrian Houses of Yazd," *Iran and Islam. In Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, pp. 125-47, and *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism. Based on the Ratanbai Katrak Lectures 1976* (London, 1977).]

<sup>104</sup> *Mémoire*, p. 202.

<sup>105</sup> Zhukovskii, "Nedavnie kazni."

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 350; Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, pp. 420-21; the mosque was built by 'Alā' al-Dawla Garshāsp in 513/1119; it was rebuilt by Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn in 777/1375, on the mosaic there is the date of 877/1472; in that year Mīr Chaqmaq "covered it with beautiful designs." The fortress was built in 532/1137 "by Abū Jafar Sultān, Alā-u-Dīn, Kanjār" (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, p. 421). A fourteenth-century observatory in Yazd, according to Sykes (*ibid.*); same source for Chaqmaq. Qal'at al-Majūs five farsakhs from Yazd, on the road to Abarqūh (Iṣṭakhrī, p. 130). Yazd as being "extremely cold" in Maqdisī, p. 437; Cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 349. In Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 285, quotation from Mustawfī, who says that "Yazd is built with unfired bricks, which are here as durable as fired bricks in other places, for it almost never rains in Yazd."

<sup>107</sup> *«Mémoire*. For the history and monuments of Yazd, see also *Survey of Persian Art*, II, v; 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Āyatī, *Ta'rikh-i Yazd ya ātashkada-yi Yazdān* (Yazd, 1317/1938); Muḥammad Mufid Bāfqī, *Jāmi'-i mufidī*, III, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1340/1961); Ja'far b. Muḥammad Ja'fari, *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, ed. Īraj Afshār (Tehran, 1343/1965).] [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 106-11.]

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